

## Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PGOV, CY, TU  
SUBJECT: MAKARIOS AND DENKTASH JULY 20 SPEECHES

SUMMARY: JULY 20 SPEECHES BY PRESIDENT MAKARIOS AND TURKISH  
CYPRIOT LEADER DENKTASH ON ANNIVERSARY OF 1974 TURKISH INTER-  
VENTION BOTH CONTAIN THREATS TO BREAK OFF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS,  
BUT ON BALANCE SEEN AS RELATIVELY MODERATE. MAKARIOS DISCUSSES  
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RECOURSE TO U.N., INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AND OUTSIDE  
MEDIATION AS FUTURE ACTIONS IF TALKS BREAK DOWN; ACKNOWLEDGES  
THE POSSIBILITY OF TURKISH CYPRIOT UDI AND RENEWS CALL FOR A  
LONG STRUGGLE IN THAT EVENT. DENKTASH STATES TURKISH  
CYPRIOTS WILL NOT CONSIDER VALID DECISIONS IN FORUMS WHERE  
THEY ARE NOT REPRESENTED, CHARACTERIZES U.S. AND OTHERS  
WHO RECOGNIZE GOC AS SOLE LEGITIMATE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT

AS "NOT FRIENDS WITH GOOD WILL." ON JULY 21 DENKTASH STATED TALKS COULD NOT BE RESUMED UNTIL EXISTENCE OF TWO CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATIONS RECOGNIZED. STALEMATE IN NEGOTIATIONS FORESEEN, COMPLICATED BY ECEVIT VAROSHA STATEMENT. END SUMMARY

1. PRESIDENT MAKARIOS AND TURKISH CYPRIOT LEADER DENKTASH MADE LONG ADDRESSES JULY 20 ON THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE TURKISH INTERVENTION. THE MAKARIOS SPEECH WAS THE CULMINATION OF FIVE DAYS OF DEMONSTRATIONS AND RALLIES PROTESTING THE 1974 COUP AND INTERVENTION. THE DENKTASH SPEECH WAS THE HIGHLIGHT OF THE JULY 20 "PEACE AND FREEDOM DAY" CELEBRATIONS IN TURKISH CYPRUS.

2. MAKARIOS COVERED MANY THEMES IN HIS ADDRESS, AMONG THEM PAN-HELLENIC SOLIDARITY, THE STATE AND FUTURE OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, RECOURSE TO U.N., INTERNATIONALIZATION AND OUTSIDE MEDIATION, CONCESSIONS AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE "LONG STRUGGLE". AND RELATIONS WITH TURKISH CYPRIOTS. SELECTED QUOTATIONS FROM THE ADDRESS FOLLOW:

ON THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS

..."THERE HAS BEEN ABSOLUTELY NO PROGRESS. SUCCESSIVE ROUNDS OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS HAVE NOT REACHED ANY POSITIVE RESULT BECAUSE OF TURKISH INTRANSIGENCE. ...IT IS MY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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VIEW THAT TALKS SHOULD NOT BE RESUMED IF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT LEADERSHIP IS NOT READY TO PRESENT CLEAR PROPOSALS ON ALL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM."

(A) FUTURE STEPS

..."IF THE TALKS ARE NOT RESUMED...WE SHALL HAVE RECOURSE ONCE MORE TO THE U.N.....OUR RECOURSE TO THE U.N. IS ALSO A MOVE FOR FURTHER INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM." ..." ...IN OUR NEW RECOURSE TO THE U.N. WE SHALL ASK FOR A DECISION FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE TO DEAL WITH THE FINDING OF A SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM...(BECAUSE OF LIKELY NEGATIVE ATTITUDES) "THE PREPARATORY WORK SHOULD BE DONE NOW, IF OUR EFFORT FOR THE CONVENING OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IS TO HAVE CHANCES OF SUCCESS."

..."OUR POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF MEDIATIONS AND THE OFFER OF GOOD OFFICES HAS ALWAYS BEEN VERY CLEAR. WE ACCEPT FROM AMERICA, WE ACCEPT FROM RUSSIA, WE ACCEPT, IF THEY OFFER IT TO US, HELP IN ANY FORM AND FROM ANY QUARTER PROVIDED THIS OFFER IS MADE WITHOUT CONDITIONS AND EXCHANGES MORTGAGING OUR FUTURE, AND OUR PROBLEM IS NOT REMOVED FROM THE U.N.

FRAMEWORK."

CONCESSIONS AND COMPROMISE

..."THERE IS NO ROOM FOR FURTHER CONCESSIONS BECAUSE IT  
(THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE) HAS ALREADY MADE MANY CONCESSIONS  
AND HAS REACHED A POINT BEYOND WHICH IT CANNOT GO...

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CONCESSIONS SHOULD BE ASKED ONLY FROM THE TURKISH SIDE  
IF THE RETURN OF TERRITORY CONQUERED BY MILITARY FORCE  
CAN, IN THIS INSTANCE, BE DESCRIBED AS A CONCESSION."  
..."SOME ADVISE TO SHOW MORE REALISM FOR A COMPROMISE  
TO BE REACHED...WE ARE FOR COMPROMISE. BUT COMPROMISE  
DOES NOT, OF COURSE, MEAN ACCEPTANCE BY US OF FAITS ACCOMPLIS."

(B) UDI AND THE LONG STRUGGLE  
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..."WE DO NOT RULE OUT SUCH A POSSIBILITY (UDI). BUT EVEN SO, WE SHALL NOT GIVE IN AND WE SHALL NOT RENOUNCE OUR RIGHTS. AND THE STRUGGLE, THE LONG STRUGGLE, WILL BECOME A NATIONAL NECESSITY AND A DICTATE UNTIL JUSTICE IS DONE."  
..."SOME MAY BE SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE LONG STRUGGLE CONCEPT. OTHERS MAY REGARD IT AS EMPTY TALKS AND SLOGANEERING. THESE ARE PEOPLE WITH LITTLE FAITH AND DEFEATISTS...AS TO THE MEANS AND WAY TO CONDUCT THIS STRUGGLE, I DO NOT THINK THAT I SHOULD EXPAND AND SAY MUCH. I ONLY SAY THAT THE LONG STRUGGLE DICTATED BY NEED AND NOT CHOSEN BY US WILL GRADUALLY ASSUME MANY FORMS."

(C) RELATIONS WITH TURKISH CYPRIOTS  
..."OUR STRUGGLE IS NOT DIRECTED AGAINST THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS. THEY, TOO, ARE VICTIMS OF THE TURKISH INVASION AND NOT OUR RIVALS." (AT THIS POINT MAKARIOS RESPONDED TO CHANGTS OF "THE TURKS OF CYPRUS ARE OUR BROTHERS," BY STATING, "I CANNOT SAY WHETHER THEY ARE OUR BROTHERS, BUT IN ANY CASE THEY ARE NOT OUR RIVALS.")

3. ATMOSPHERICS. MAKARIOS SHOWED LITTLE AFTEREFFECT FROM HIS HEART ATTACK. HE WAS IN COMMAND OF THE RALLY AND ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS REMONSTRATED WITH SLOGAN CALLERS. AMEMBASSY OBSERVER NOTED THAT IN CONTRAST TO PAST YEARS, THERE WERE NEITHER GREEK FLAGS NOR RED BANNERS PRESENT AT THE RALLY, ALTHOUGH THERE WERE ANTI-CIA AND ANTI-NATO BANNERS. THE CROWD WAS RESPONSIVE TO MAKARIOS' BEST LINES BUT WAS NOT EXCEPTIONALLY ENTHUSIASTIC. IT DISPERSED IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIS DEPARTURE.

4. THE DENKTASH SPEECH PRAISED TURKEY'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO SAFEGUARDING THE LIVES AND RIGHTS OF THE TURK CYPRIOTS; CRITICIZED OUTSIDE INTERVENTION, PARTICULARLY U.S., IN  
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ATTEMPTS TO REACH A SOLUTION AND ADDRESSED MANY OF THE SAME ISSUES RAISED BY MAKARIOS - BUT WITH OPPOSITE CONCLUSIONS. SIGNIFICANT EXCERPTS FROM THE DENKTASH SPEECH FOLLOW:  
..."THE GREAT PROMISE I CAN MAKE YOU...IS THIS: 'THE OLD DAYS WILL NEVER RETURN'...THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY WILL BE FREE IN ITS OWN COUNTRY...THE ONLY CONDITION TO ACHIEVE THIS IS SOLIDARITY WITHIN THE COUNTRY AND A FULL

AND HARMONIOUS IDENTIFICATION WITH MAINLAND TURKEY IN EVERY FIELD, IN ORDER TO FOIL THE PLOTS OF THOSE WHO SEEK TO SEPARATE US FROM THE MAINLAND."

...(FOR THE GREEK CYPRIOTS) "TO TELL US, 'WE SHALL DELIVER YOU FROM INVASION' IS A DISGUSTING STAND...LET THE GREEK CYPRIOT LEADERSHIP KNOW AND UNDERSTAND THAT NO CO-EXISTENCE IS POSSIBLE WITH THOSE WHO INSULT TURKISH CYPRIOTS AND TURKS AND WHO BUILD THEIR CAUSE ON THE LIE OF AN INVASION."

..."TO CONSIDER THE CRUEL PRE-1974 ADMINISTRATION AS A BASIS FOR A FUTURE SETTLEMENT WOULD BE A GREAT ERROR WHICH WOULD BRING MATTERS TO AN IMPASSE."

..."THE WORLD, WHICH IS NOT AWARE OF THE REALITIES OF CYPRUS, SHOULD NOT EXPECT US TO ABIDE BY INVALID, UNBALANCED DECISIONS ADOPTED IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS WHERE WE ARE NOT REPRESENTED...UNLESS WE ARE GIVEN THIS RIGHT, WE WILL CONTINUE TO REFUSE THE PROPOSALS MADE AND DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THOSE WHO PREVENT US FROM GAINING THIS RIGHT."

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..."THOSE WHO SUPPORT AN ILLEGAL ADMINISTRATION WHICH MADE US SUFFER FOR 11 YEARS ARE NOT FRIENDS WITH GOOD WILL... AMONG THOSE WHO RECOGNIZE THE INHUMAN ADMINISTRATION...AS THE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT ARE THE U.S., THE EEC AND USSR. HOW STRANGE IT IS THAT THE U.S. IS ANGRY BECAUSE WE DID NOT YIELD TO THE ILLEGAL GREEK CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATION AND REVISITED IT. THE U.S. IS HARMING TURKEY BECAUSE IT SAVED US FROM PLANNED FINAL ANNIHILATION. IT IS INSOLENTLY MAINTAINING THE ARMS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY. WHILE AMERICANS OF GREEK AND GREEK CYPRIOT ANCESTRY - WHO INSURE THIS BLIND POLICY IS MAINTAINED - DANCE WITH JOY, THE U.S. IS ABLE TO SAY TO THE TURKISH NATION 'I WILL GIVE YOU NO ARMS UNTIL YOU MAKE ENOUGH CONCESSIONS IN CYPRUS TO SATISFY ME AND THE AMERICANS OF GREEK ORIGIN.'

..."THE UNITED STATES IS NOT EVEN AWARE THAT IT IS PLAYING WITH THE HONOR OF A NATION BY FOLLOWING THIS POLICY. VERY SELF CONFIDENTLY, THE U.S. IS TRYING TO PLAY A GREATER ROLE THAN THE U.N. IN CYPRUS IN ORDER TO SOLVE THE CYPRUS CPROBLEM."

..."WE CANNOT ASSESS THE INTEREST OF THE U.S. IN CYPRUS AS THE INTEREST OF AN IMPARTIAL AND FRIENDLY COUNTRY, BECAUSE WE WITNESSED HOW THIS INTEREST WAS MANIFESTED BETWEEN 1963 AND 1974."

..."IT IS WITHIN OUR AUTHORITY TO DECIDE ON WHAT TERMS WE WILL COOPERATE WITH THE GREEK CYPRIOTS. THE WAY TO DO THAT IS FOR THE TWO COMMUNITIES TO NEGOTIATE WITH GOOD WILL. IT IS OUR MOST SINCERE WISH AND HOPE THAT THE BIG COUNTRIES AND ESPECIALLY THE U.S. DO NOT CAST A SHADOW ON THIS COURSE."

5. IN A PRESS RELEASE JULY 21, DENKTASH CRITICIZED THE MAKARIOS SPEECH AND CONCLUDED THAT IT WOULD BE BEST NOT TO CONTINUE WITH THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS UNTIL THE WORLD ACCEPTS THAT THERE ARE TWO EQUAL ADMINISTRATIONS IN CYPRUS.

6. COMMENTS: (A) OUR INITIAL IMPRESSION OF MAKARIOS' SPEECH IS THAT ON BALANCE IT WAS RELATIVELY MODERATE GIVEN THE FORUM AND THE OCCASION. THE THREAT TO BREAK OFF NEGOTIATIONS WAS LINKED TO, AND APPEARS TO BE AN ATTEMPT TO FORCE, TURKISH CYPRIOT AGREEMENT TO PROMPT RESUMPTION OF TALKS AND SUBMISSION OF MORE DETAILED PROPOSALS.  
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OTHER STEPS (I.E., THE U.N, INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, OUTSIDE MEDIATION) WERE CAST AS ALTERNATIVES IN THE EVENT TALKS ARE NOT RESUMED. GREEK CYPRIOT PRESS FAILED TO NOTICE CONDITIONAL ASPECT, HOWEVER, AND HEADLINED SPEECH AS ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEW "MULTI-PHASE" POLICY. ALSO OF INTEREST WAS THE NON-MENTION OF SOME SUBSTANTIVE GOC NEGOTIATING POSITIONS - RETURN OF REFUGEES, FREEDOM OF TRAVEL AND PROPERTY OWNERSHIP, ETC. MAKARIOS DID, HOWEVER, CALL FOR A UNITARY AND INTEGRAL REPUBLIC.

(B) DENKTASH STATEMENT, ALSO REMARKABLY MILD FOR THE OCCASION, IS NOTEWORTHY MAINLY FOR THE LENGTH AND INTENSITY OF HIS CRITICISMS OF U.S. AND WESTERN ROLE. HOWEVER, THE SUBSEQUENT DENKTASH STATEMENT THAT INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS COULD NOT BE RESUMED AS LONG AS GOC CONTINUES TO BE RECOGNIZED AS SOLE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT IN CYPRUS IS A PATENTLY IMPOSSIBLE PRE-CONDITION - AS DENKTASH IS AWARE.

(C) UPSHOT OF THE TWO CONFLICTING THREATS TO BREAK OFF TALKS IS THAT BOTH SIDES HAVE AGAIN DEVELOPED PUBLIC POSITIONS WHICH WILL MAKE RESUMPTION OF DISCUSSIONS MORE DIFFICULT. A FURTHER COMPLICATING FACTOR WILL BE THE ECEVIT ANNOUNCEMENT ON VAROSHA HOTEL REOPENMENT PLANS AND THE LIKELY EMBITTERED GOC REACTION.  
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